

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

C O N F I D E N T I A L BERLIN 5579

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GE

SUBJECT: EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE

REF: BERLIN 5516

SUMMARY: ACCORDING TO THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR HERE, THERE WILL BE
ANOTHER MEETING IN BERLIN OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE IN APPROXIMATELY
TWO WEEKS TO ATTEMPT TO RESOLVE ISSUES THAT HAVE ARISEN
IN THE CURRENT PREPARATORY STAGE OF THIS CONFERENCE.

END SUMMARYM

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1. THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR TO THE GDR, ENRICO AILLAUD, HAS GIVEN US HIS PERSONAL VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF EFFORTS TO OBTAIN A EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE (ECPC), AND HAS SHARED WITH US AN ACCOUNT GIVEN HIM BY AN ITALIAN MEMBER OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE APRIL 8-10 MEETING IN BERLIN (REFTEL).

2. THE CONCEPT OF AN ECPC WAS ADVANCED IN NOVEMBER 1973 BY THE "CONSERVATIVE" EUROPEAN CP'S UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF CPSU SECRETARY PONOMAREV, ALTERNATE MEMBER OF THE SOVIET POLITBURO WITH COMPETENCE IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR EUROPEAN CP'S OUTSIDE THE EASTERN BLOC. THIS CONCEPT HAD ITS ORIGINS IN THE EARLIER VISIT TO THE USSR THAT YEAR OF PAJETTA, OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY. THE SOVIETS HOPED THAT THE CPI WOULD SERVE AS AN "INTERMEDIARY" IN DEALING WITH THE YUGOSLOVS.

3. IN OCTOBER 1974 THE FIRST PREPARATORY MEETING FOR THE ECPC TOOK PLACE IN WARSAW. IT WAS ATTENDED BY 28 PARTIES, 8 FROM THE EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND 20 FROM WESTERN EUROPE. THE ALBANIANS, DUTCH AND ICELANDIC CP'S DECLINED FROM THE OUTSET TO ATTEND. THE WARSAW MEETING DEFINED THREE GOALS FOR THE ECPC: (1) DECISION OF THE ECPC SHOULD BE BY UNANIMOUS AGREEMENT: (2) IMPORTANT WORK SHOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED IN PLENARY SESSIONS: AND (3) THE ECPC ITSELF IDEALLY SHOULD BE HELD IN BERLIN IN MID-1975, BUT IN NO CASE BEFORE THE CSCE HAD ENDED. THE ADOPTION OF THESE GOALS WAS A VICTORY FOR THE "PROGRESSIVE" COMMUNIST PARTIES LED BY YUGOSLAVIA, ROMANIS, AND ITALY--WHICH HAS NOT BEEN FUNCTIONING AS A INTERMEDIARY, BUT RATHER AS AN ALLY OF THE YUGOSLAVS.

4. A SECOND PREPARATORY CONFERENCE TOOK PLACE IN BUDAPEST DURING DECEMBER 19-21 OF 1974. AT THIS MEETING, SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES AND LEADERS OF OTHER "ORTHODOX" CP'S SOUGHT WITHOUT SUCCESS TO WEAKEN THE FIRST TWO PRINCIPLES OF THE WARSAW MEETING. A DRAFTING COMMITTEE WAS ESTABLISHED CONSISTING OF 28 MEMBERS (ONE FROM EACH OF THE PARTICIPATING CP'S) IT WAS RECOGNIZED, HOWEVER, THAT A GROUP OF THIS SIZE WOULD BE UNWIEDLY; CONFIDENTIAL

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A COMPROMISE WAS REACHED WHEREBY THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE WAS REDUCED TO 16 MEMBERS INCLUDING THE ITALIANS, YUGOSLAVS AND ROMANIANS.

5. THE FIRST MEETING OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF 16 TOOKD PLACE IN BERLIN SOME SEVEN WEEKS AGO. IT APPARENTLY MADE LITTLE PROGRESS.

6 THE SECOND MEETING OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE OCCURRED IN BERLIN DURING THE PERIOD APRIL 8-10, 1975. THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE HAD BEEN EXPANDED TO 20 AT THIS MOST RECENT MEETING, SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES ARGUED STRONGLY THAT THE ECPC SHOULD PRODUCE TWO POST-CSCE DOCUMENTS AT THE END OF ITS FORMAL SESSIONS: (1) A PROPAGANDA DOCUMENT TO FOSTER RAPPROCHEMENT AMONG THE EUROPEAN CP'S ON THE ONE HAND, AND PARTIES OF THE EUROPEAN LEFT, SUCH AS SOCIALISTS AND SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, ON THE OTHER; AND (2) A COLLECTIO OF PRINCIPLES TO DICTATE COMMON BEHAVIOR FOR EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES. THE ITALIAN AND YUGOSLAV REPRESENTATIVES STRONGLY OBJECTED, ARGUING FOR A SINGLE DOCUMENT THAT WOULD ADDRESS THE PROGAGANDA ASPECTS OF THE CONFERENCE, AND WOULD LEAVE EACH NATIONAL PARTY FREE TO ESTABLIHS ITS OWN TACTICS AS FAR AS THE OBJECTIVE OF RAPPROCHEMENT WAS CONCERNED. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE SHOULD MEET AGAIN IN BERLIN "IN 20 DAYS" TO TRY TO RESOLVE THESE ISSUES.

7 THERE IS A KEEN PERCEPTION AMONG MEMBERS OF THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE OF THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN SCHEDULING THE ECPC. IN LIGHT OF ITS PURPOSES, THE CONFERENCE CANNOT OCCUR UNTIL CSCE HAS ENDED. THE MONTH OF OCTOBER POSES SPECIAL DIFFICULTIES BECAUSE OF GDR FESTIVITIES IN CONNECTION WITH INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S YEAR. THE DRAFTING COMMITTEE CONSIDERS MID-SEPTEMBER TO BE THE MOST DESIRABLE TIME FOR THE ECPC. (PROBLEMS OF TIMING FOR THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP ARE DESCRIBED IN PARA 5 OF MOSCOW'S 1958.)

8. AMBASSADOR AILLAUD SAID THAT THE ITALIANS AND UYGOSLAVS HAD WORKED CLOSELY TOGETHER AT THE APRIL MEETING IN BERLIN,AND HAD BEEN ABLE TO HOLD OUT FOR A MORE CONFIDENTIAL

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"PROGRESSIVE" VIEW OF THE ECPC. THE ROMANIANS, ACCORDING TO AILLAUD'S CONTACT SHOWED THEMSELVES TO BE "MORE INDEPENT AS A STATE THAN A PARTY". THE ITALIAN INFORMANT SAID THE ROMANIANS HAD RESORTED FREQUENTLY TO "STUPID SLOGANS" THAT OCCASIONALLY DAMAGED ARGUMENTS THAT THE YUGOSLAVS AND ITALIANS WERE SEEKING TO ADVANCE.

9 ASKED TO PLACE THE EFFORTS TOWARD AN ECPC IN BROADER PERSPECTIVE, AILLAUD RESPONDED THAT HE BELIEVED PARTICIPANTS PERCEIVED THE ECPC AS A PARALLEL ACTIVITY AT THE PARTY LEVEL TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE ON CSCE. IDEOLOGICALLY, THE ECPT IS AN OUTGROWTH OF BRANDT'S OSTPOLITIK. CSCE AND THE ECPT WOULD, IN THIS VIEW, PROVIDE A KIND OF PEACE TREATY FOR EUROPE. THE EXPECTATION AMONG CP'S IS THAT

GENEVA WILL FORMALIZE THE INVIOABILITY OF EXISTING NATIONAL BOUNDARIES. WHAT AN ECPC MAY BE EXPECTED TO ACCOMPLISH FROM A SOVIET POINT OF VIEW IS THE EXTENSION OF A SET OF PRINCIPLES TO DICTATE FUTURE BEHAVIOUR OF EUROPEAN CP'S, A TACTICAL NEED NO MATTER WHETHER THE GENEVA CONFERENCE SUCCESSDS OR FAILS. BEYOND THESE PRINCIPLES FOR THE CP'S THEMSELVES, THERE REMAINS THE GOALD OF REACHING OUT TO NON-COMMUNIST ELEMENTS OF THE LEFT IN EUROPE IN ORDER TO BUILD UPON THE OUTCOME OF GENEVA.

10 FOR USNATO. WE PERCEIVE NO DIFFICULTY IN YOUR DRAWING UPON THIS INFORMATION, IF YOU WISH TO, PROVIDED EITHER AMBASSADOR AILLAUD NOR THE ITALIANS GENERALLY ARE IDENTIFIED AS THE SOURCE.GROVE

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